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food is served

on china platters and/or round plates. If necessary, everyone is provided with knives, forks, and spoons, but napkins are not ordinarily used. Cups and demitasses are provided for tea and coffee, respectively. (The only kind of coffee which is consumed in the village is "Turkish" coffee.) Wine is drunk from small glasses. The only acceptable way to drink water, however, is directly from the spouted jug called *ibriiq*. This is definitely an acquired skill which children are taught as early as possible. For this purpose, a small *ibriiq*, usually made of glass, is provided. With the exception of the coffee grinder, usually the coffee beaters, the pestle and mortar, and the *ibriiq*, all these items are of European manufacture and/or design.

Although kerosene heaters are readily available in Beirut, the standard means of heating houses in the village is by small, round, charcoal braziers which sit low on the floor. If a social group in one room of a multi-room house moves to another, the brazier around which the group has sat will be picked up and carried along. The idea, in other words, is to keep the people warm rather than to heat the room. The European and American kerosene heaters are undoubtedly more efficient, but they are a great deal more expensive to buy and operate. Besides, the charcoal braziers can also be used for boiling coffee and broiling meat on skewers.

Oil lamps, with glass chimneys, of European manufacture and of the same type which is still sometimes seen in rural areas of the United States, are used in many houses. Everyone keeps a supply of candles in case of emergency. But the most widely used type of illumination is provided by a kerosene pressure lantern. This gives a very strong light and is frequently suspended on an iron rod from the ceiling of the room.

Nearly every individual who is adolescent or older has a flashlight and uses it. On moonless or cloudy nights, the village is enveloped in pitch blackness, with only a few undiffused lights showing here and there from doors or windows.

Floor-covering is provided either by small "oriental" rugs or straw mats. Such ornamental or luxury items as elaborately inlaid boxes and furniture, engraved brass or copper trays, and painted pottery, are rare.

DIET

The villagers regularly eat three meals a day, of which the evening meal is ordinarily the largest, except on Sundays. Breakfast is likely to include the left-overs from the preceding evening meal. Bread is eaten at, and coffee served after, every meal. Lunch tends to be small, and the family is apt to be incomplete at lunch, for men or boys working in the fields usually take their lunches with them—a couple of loaves of bread, some olives, and perhaps an onion or cucumber or two, and a jug of water.

The villagers say that in summer they have more to eat than in winter. In effect, what they mean is that fresh fruits and vegetables supplement the year-

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262 496 meal staples, all, except citrus fruits, in the summer. The staples, which are either constantly obtainable or can be locally preserved and stored, are the following:

- Wheat (mostly imported)
- Rice (imported)
- Mutton (mostly bought on the hoof from outsiders)
- Hens' eggs (locally produced)
- Olives (locally produced)
- Figs (locally produced)
- Fresh fish (caught locally)
- Potatoes and turnips (imported and produced locally)
- Onions and garlic (imported and produced locally)
- A variety of legumes (imported and produced locally)
- Milk (locally produced)
- Salt (locally produced)
- Sugar (imported)
- Coffee and tea (imported)

This base is supplemented in summer by the following items, most of which are produced locally: apricots, fresh figs, grapes, tomatoes, cucumbers, green and yellow squashes, peppers, lettuce, and almonds.

It is clear that the village is heavily dependent upon the outside for food staples. Among the forms in which these staples are eaten are the following:

262 *Bread.* Americans, among whom bread is now a food of secondary importance and generally of poor nutritive value, will at once recognize the significance of "daily bread" when they observe its use among present-day Semitic-speaking peoples. Although it would be an exaggeration to say that it is *the* staff of life, it is certainly the most important single item of food—important both in regard to its nutritive value and the attitudes toward it of its eaters. Bread-making is as important social as well as economic function, and it will be described in detail later. Here it need only be said that the loaf is a disk about one foot or more in diameter and about a third of an inch thick. Tannous (1944, p. 334) says that every adult eats from one to two pounds of it a day and takes it at every meal. Although no attitudes toward it of a religious nature were encountered in Mazraʿah, its importance was indicated by such remarks as: "A meal is not a meal if there is no bread"; "If there is nothing else, bread is enough"; "If you do not eat bread, you will always be hungry"; and "If you drink too much water at a meal, you will not be able to eat enough bread." The average adult in the village eats about two loaves per meal, which is consistent with Tannous' statement.

264 Bread can be eaten alone, but usually it is not. The eater tears it into pieces about three inches square. With this between fingers and thumb (usually, but not exclusively, of the right hand), he reaches out to a common dish and takes a piece of food. The morsel is then conveyed to the mouth as is, or after that which has been taken from the dish has been more thoroughly wrapped up in the bread. For eating semiliquid foods, the piece of bread is made into the shape of a small, crude shovel. Virtually the entire meal can be, and frequently is, eaten, anecdotally and instrumentally, with bread.

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a particularly unfavored district in the physical sense—more favored districts had already been occupied by others.

We have seen that the village territory was subsequently divided into three equal parts, each of which came in time to be dominated by a particular lineage, each descended from a son of the founder. The main house cluster was said to have been first located somewhat below the church, in a recess. This location made the community completely invisible from the coastal highway, and this was described by one informant as a necessary defensive measure. He added that he had heard that in the old days, when men went down to Ḥilwi to work their fields, they went in armed groups to protect themselves against marauding bands of Muslims. This was presumably during the century and more of virtual anarchy which followed the reign of Fakhr ad-Dīn II. As the village grew in population, the house cluster was extended up and along the crest of the ridge, lineage A occupying the upper part, lineage C the lower part. Lineage B members lived mostly at ʾarḍi, surrounding the shrine of Mar Mikhāʾil, and only very recently moved entirely into the eastern and upper portions of the main house cluster.

We have seen that at present the ownership pattern of the houses still reflects the clustering of the houses by maximal lineage. Some of the exceptions to this patterning, especially in the highest part of the village, are due to very recent purchases of land and new construction. Those in the center, however, were explained by one informant as follows: "Maybe a hundred years ago many people were very poor. They sold their land to people in ʿAmshīt. Then later some others bought it again. We don't know who they all were. People went to America to make money and then they came back."

There is at hand what might well be external evidence of this episode. Churchill (1853, vol. 1, pp. 72–73), writes of the spectacular rise of one Michael Tushen, a Maronite from ʿAmshīt, "Making his native village of Amsheet the centre of his operations, he conceived a system which soon brought him into intimate relations with the entire neighbouring population—that of making advances of money on the silk crops. . . . Tushen has become an extensive landed proprietor, and as a landlord his character is unimpeachable."

Until about seventy-five years ago, Munṣif was a very nearly self-sufficient and self-contained community. We can assume that a good proportion of its wheat always had to be imported. As a matter of fact, Ḥilwi used to serve as a point of entry for imported goods which were brought to it by boat, this mode of transportation being cheaper, safer, and easier than overland transport. It was also, apparently, a regular practice for a number of men to do seasonal wage labor in other districts. One specialty of this type, which was hazardous but profitable, was sponge-diving.

But these activities do not seem to have essentially lessened the village's cultural isolation. It was common in those days, according to one informant, to en-

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3. The change is not in conflict, functionally or symbolically, with other, firmly established or unchanging norms.

The second condition provides the adequate motivation essential to learning, and, as Hallowell (1945, pp. 183-83) has pointed out, "learning is the psychological crux of acculturation." Using Barnett's terms (Barnett, 1940, p. 31), we can say that if the *function* of the new item is apprehended and appreciated by the villagers, they will accept it, provided that it does not involve too much expense, does not necessitate elaborate readjustments in otherwise stable systems, and that its *meaning* is neither odious (for example, a part of foreign imperialism) nor in conflict with the meanings of other, stable traits.

Perhaps this analysis will be clearer when we consider two areas of "material culture" which have remained almost wholly unchanged. One of these is diet which has remained unchanged because any fundamental alteration in it would meet with situations which would be contrary to any or all of the three conditions which are necessary to successful change. It would be enough to say that change in diet would involve extra expense and a major alteration in eating habits and cooking methods (violation of conditions 1 and 3). But besides this, the villagers see no purpose in changing their basic diet. It satisfies them physically and gastronomically (violation of conditions 2 and 3). It is probable also that they derive no little spiritual satisfaction in being able to maintain old patterns in this area of behavior where no change is forced upon them.

The other area of material conservatism is in farming techniques. Although farming itself has deteriorated markedly in terms of the number of men who practice it (a negative sort of change), farming techniques remain the same. This is largely because conditions 1 and 2 do not obtain. To introduce, for example, tractors and modern plows and harrows, into a terrace village like Mouqil, would not only involve great expense, it would also be rather absurd from a practical point of view. There would be the problem of moving the equipment from one terrace to another, and most of the terraces are so small and irregular in shape that it would be difficult, if not impossible, to use when it was in place. Chemical fertilizers have been adopted to some extent, probably limited by expense. Certainly the villagers are most eager to obtain an irrigation system, but here their desires are thwarted by external conditions.

ECONOMIC CHANGES

In the economic or subsistence sphere, the village has obviously undergone a profound change. A number of rural specialties, such as weaving and shoemaking, have completely gone out of existence. Farming, formerly the primary occupation, now occupies a very small number of men. A large proportion, if not most, of the village income is now derived from urban occupations.

The factors in this change are multiple, and can be classified into two types, economic-demographic and intellectual. The economic-demographic factors are:

1. The decrease of physical isolation of the village, exposing it to the importation of ready-made goods.

2. The increase of direct dependence upon a money economy and a world market, over neither of which the villagers have any control.

3. The drift of villagers en masse to the city for employment—in part in consequence of factors 1 and 2.

4. Deterioration of agriculture and crafts, consequent upon factors 1, 2, and 3.

The intellectual factors in the economic change in Menghit were brought about by the creation of virtually universal literacy through the new educational system. In this connection, three consequences must be noted.

1. Up to a point, education is essential to fitting the villager for effective village and urban life, by making him literate.

2. Beyond a certain point, it renders the villager dissatisfied with village life because it creates interests and ambitions which cannot be satisfied in the village.

3. The shortage of suitable opportunities in the city for the highest educated individuals renders them dissatisfied both with village life *and* with city life.

The seriousness and dangerousness of the latter two situations are well recognized by a spy. Malinowski (1945, pp. 67-68) has reminded us its importance in Negro Africa, and at least three students of the Middle East have made reference to its importance there. Woodsmall (1946, p. 268) refers to education as enticing people for village life. Kaan (1946, p. 42) speaks of a prevailing "white collar mentality" which impedes rural development because it makes the recruiting of agricultural teachers difficult. And of the frustrations of the highly educated Palestinian and Near East [illegible]

> Many students, educated in the better ways of life and thought, graduate to find opportunities limited. The technical technicians, the centers of economic wealth and economic poverty, the group hatreds, suspicions, the apathy of peasant millions and overlords alike for change, all this is disheartening. Some of these "over-educated" products of the West have small desire "middle-class" groups taking progress, but other generations, unwilling or frustrated in their attempts to change a reluctant conservative system. (1946, pp. 400-01.)

CHANGES IN VALUES

We have already indicated how acculturation has created unresolved conflicts in values among the Menghits, as among other Middle Easterners. The values changes in values can be grouped around Tannous's three major themes of traditional village life.

Devotion to the Land. It is clear that in purely economic terms, the Menghits are for the most part no longer dependent upon agriculture as a source of sub-

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in the genealogy, but there is no disagreement on their ultimate origin in this same man, often referred to as "our forefather." On the basis of the number of generations accounted for in the chart, it appears that the founder was probably born sometime late in the 16th century. Historical material is available which gives a clue to the reason for the founding of the village and at the same time supports the estimate of the date suggested by the genealogy. The reign of the Amir Fakhr al-Din II (1590–1635) is known to have been a period in which many Syrian Christians sought refuge in Lebanon to escape Turkish persecution. It is reasonable to suppose that the founder of al-Mansūf, a Greek Orthodox Christian, was one of these. The probable date of the establishment of the village suggests, further, the reason for the selection of a site which is far from ideal for agricultural purposes: the better-favored areas in Lebanon had already been occupied by other groups.

Once established, what manner of village was al-Mansūf? Everything that can be learned about "the old days" indicates that it must have been typical of the traditional pattern of village life in the Middle East, which in turn fits the criteria of the "folk community," as understood by sociologists in general.[3] Life in al-Mansūf, then, prior to the last quarter of the 19th century when the great cultural changes began, was focused on four major themes:

1. *Devotion to the Land.* Agriculture was the economic base of the community, the occupation of all its members except for a few specialists who also were often part-time farmers.

2. *Religious orientation.* Religious attitudes permeated all aspects of life; religious behavior was integrated with economic and family behavior. The religious affiliation of the village was sharply defined.

3. *Predominance of kinship statuses* in the patterning and regulation of interpersonal affairs, for example in mutual aid arrangements. The kinship group was a focus of intense loyalty for its members, so much so that members of the same lineage were often preferred in marriage.

4. *Extreme location* of knowledge, interests, and loyalties. This was reflected in the prevalence of intra-village feuds and in the clear preference for the marriage of an individual to a member of his or her own village rather than to an outsider. (Village endogamy.)

In the case of al-Mansūf, there were a few variations on this normal structure. On the economic side, first, a certain amount of fishing has always been done right from the village itself. Second, the necessity of importing wheat has always made some money income imperative. It was therefore common for village men to do wage labor in other communities in slack seasons. Sponge diving was one such seasonal occupation, profitable but

[3] See, for example, Horace Miner, "Group Behavior in the Village Community of Lebanon," *American Journal of Sociology*, vol. 48 (1942), pp. 190–191; "The Arab Village Community of the Middle East," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (1945), pp. 529–539.